
The Use of Polish Musical Tradition in the Nazi Propaganda¹

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*Dedicated to the memory of Stanisław Mikke (1947–2010),
victim of the Smoleńsk plane crash, eminent lawyer, writer
and music lover, who knew how to revive the memory of the forgotten*

Policies applied by the Nazi authorities in occupied Poland since September 1939 were directed against Polish culture, which embodied for them one of inimical targets designed to be destroyed in the *Generalplan Ost*, the most extreme fulfillment of Hitler's *Lebensraum* concept and the *Drang nach Osten* ideology. Secretly prepared in 1939–1941 by the SS organ Reich Security Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA) and preceded by the *Ostforschung*, detailed academic research, this plan detailed extermination, enslavement, Germanization or expulsion of Slavic nations, in order to Germanize the conquered territories thoroughly and to ensure that nationalities living there would eventually vanish completely, just as Poland as a state evaporated from the maps through its division into the General Government and the areas annexed to the USSR or to the Third Reich.²

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² Haar (2005: 16 ff) thus described these facts: 'First, those Polish and Jewish groups deemed unfit for

To realize this aim, Hitler considered the liquidation of Polish leadership necessary and expressed his intentions in unambiguous terms on numerous occasions, mainly during meetings with his subordinates.³ Already by August-September 1939 different types of extermination policies towards leaders considered as potentially dangerous had been implemented, first, during the *Unternehmen Tannenberg* (*Operation Tannenberg*) and from May 1940 in *Außerordentliche Befriedungsaktion* (*Special Pacification Operation*). They were effected as specified by conscription lists (*Sonderfahndungsbuch Polen*), which had been prepared before September 1939 and contained over 60 thousand names. Among Hitler's directives of 17 October 1939, next to such 'logistic' regulations as 'all Poles and Jews deported from Germany and from the incorporated territories shall be concentrated in the Government General', the following orders are found: 'Polish intelligentsia shall not be allowed to lead the Polish nation', 'all foundations and nuclei of Polish national consolidation shall be destroyed', 'the Poles should be forced down to the lowest standard of living and be allowed only the minimum necessary for the sustenance, so that they become a source of cheap labor for Germany'. He also stressed that 'no legal restrictions should impede this national struggle'.⁴

integration into the German population were to be deported. These included all Polish citizens not considered to have an important economic function. Second, all members of the Polish intelligentsia, priests, teachers, scientists, and Poles of a national democratic orientation were selected to immediate liquidation. [...] In order to achieve these two goals, all agencies involved in the various aspects of the project – the central offices in Berlin as well as national branches operating in the areas projected for settlement – depended on expert research to facilitate the resettlement process'. In conclusion of this chapter, the author added that 'historians maintained an eloquent silence about their own roles during the National Socialist period. It is one of the most noteworthy problems of postwar German historiography that the same historians who helped plan deportations of Jews and Poles under National Socialism assumed responsibility for researching the deportations of Germans from East-Central Europe after 1945. The result is an apologist historiography that continues to exercise strong influence in German academic and public spheres to this day'.

³ According to the account given by General Fedor von Bock on 22 August 1939 Hitler announced to his generals that after their military action, SS troops should undertake to exterminate Polish 'Führerschicht'. According to General Wilhelm Keitel (chief of Oberkommando der Wehrmacht) Hitler named the liquidation of Polish intelligentsia as 'politische Flurbereinigung'. (Schleibrendorf 1959: 47–48; Abshagen, 1957: 207 ff).

⁴ Quoted in *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* (1949: 24–25). For the rest of the document cf. Library of Congress Military Legal Resources, available online. Cf. also Majer (2003).

The situation in the Reich-annexed territories, such as the region of Poznań and Łódź, named *Reichsgau Wartheland*, was a direct result of Hitler's presumption that this area was to be entirely Germanized as soon as possible. Thus, the authorities of the Warthegau aggressively sought to banish every slightest trace of Polish life and culture. The description of Nazi politics in this area is found in the trial documents of the Gauleiter Artur Greiser of 1946, where, among the charges made against him, his orders were listed. He

intended to destroy the cultural values of the Polish nation by: 1) closing down or destroying all Polish scientific and cultural institutions, the entire press, the wireless, cinemas and theatres; 2) closing down and destroying the network of Polish schools both elementary, middle and high, and closing down all Polish collections, archives, and libraries; 3) destroying many of the relics and monuments of Polish culture and art or transforming them so as no longer to serve Polish culture (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals*, 1949: 73–74).

In section entitled 'Measures against Polish Culture and Science' of the same document the charges are detailed with reference to Greiser's subsequent regulations:

This war began with the liquidation of the intelligentsia and clergy: the entire Warthegau was denuded of Polish professors, scientists, teachers, [j]udges, advocates, doctors, engineers and other representatives of the classes that constituted the greatest hindrance to the Germanization of the country.

The cultural centre of Poznań University was closed immediately on the entry of the Germans, and most of the professors were arrested and either sent to concentration camps, or imprisoned, or else held as hostages, or deported to the General Government.

In December 1939, some of the professors were released from prison and deported to the General Government, being deprived not only of their private property, but even of their manuscripts and scientific works. Altogether, as a result of these measures, there perished 24 professors, 15 supernumerary professors, 26 assistants, and 20 university officials.

The buildings of Poznań University and all cultural institutions were taken over by the Nazi authorities and used for various purposes [...]. On 27 April 1941, a German university was opened in Poznań, which came under the authority of Greiser, as he became its president; all teaching came under the German rector, Dr. Carstens, and he from the beginning laid down that 'in this university of the East there will be no place for scientists dealing with problems only from the objective point of view (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* 1949: 82–83).

Books, archives, museums and art collections, scientific periodicals and newspapers were confiscated (ca. 30 public museums and over 100 private collections) or destroyed.⁵ It was also forbidden to print any kind of books in Polish and from April 1940 – the sale of all French- and English-language books, as well as the sale of the music of Chopin and other Polish composers was banned. Libraries were closed and towards the end of 1940 the Propaganda Office published a list of forbidden Polish books that comprised of some 3,000 titles. On 21 November 1941 Greiser ordered the removal all bells from Polish churches, including those protected by the law as historic monuments. By order of 15 October 1944 all church organs were sequestered.⁶ The buildings and all the equipment of Polish cultural institutions, which were all closed, were put at the disposal of German institutions; this affected theatres (in Poznań, Łódź and Kalisz), cinemas and the Opera House and the Music Conservatory in Poznań. Regretfully, the document continues:

Even choral societies were closed, and the famous Poznań Cathedral Choir that was known all over Europe was disbanded and its director, Father [Wacław] Gieburowski [1878–1943], imprisoned [he was later released and transported to the General Government]. The broadcasting stations in Poznań and Łódź became German stations; all wireless receiving sets belonging to Poles were confiscated and listening to foreign stations, especially London, was punished with death (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* 1949: 84).

An extraordinary effort was made toward the destruction of Polish memorials which, as the document foregrounds, ‘were destroyed in an especially

⁵ The same text gives the following details: ‘Gauleiter Greiser laid upon the members of the Hitlerjugend the special duty of destroying all the libraries of the Society for People’s Libraries, which premises were demolished and the books burned and destroyed. Similarly school libraries were destroyed.’ Book Collecting Point (*Buchsammelstelle*) was organised in the church of St. Michael in Poznań, where almost two million volumes from public and private libraries of the Warthegau were sorted and either distributed to various German institutions, either sent to paper-mill for pulping. See *Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* (1949: 82–83).

⁶ The churches were despoiled completely. A memorandum from the Gestapo submitted to Greiser, No. II b.l of 21st March, 1942, informed him that in the action taken for security reasons against the Polish churches at the beginning of October, 1941, money, foreign exchange, script, church books, documents, libraries, and other important written material was removed from the Church offices and from the houses of the priests, while chalices, monstrances, candlesticks, candles and linen were removed from the churches. The candles – about 20 tons – were handed over to the army, and the linen – about 6 tons – to the German Red Cross. The memorandum drew Greiser’s attention to the fact that many articles of value, such as pictures, furniture and carpets, still remained in the churches and recommended that they should be taken over’. (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* 1949: 82).

insulting manner and the destruction was accompanied by mockery and ridicule. These acts were given great emphasis in the German Press'.⁷ Among those destroyed in Poznań were Chopin and Moniuszko statues.

A case study that demonstrates the strategies employed is the Wielkopolskie Museum (Museum of Greater Poland, before 1919 the Kaiser Friedrich Museum) in Poznań. In place of its director, the historian of art, Dr Nikodem Pajzderski, who was arrested in October 1939 and killed on 6 January 1940 in Fort VII camp in Poznań⁸, a German director, Dr Kühle was appointed and the museum solemnly reopened on 24 January. The General Government's German-language press relayed with satisfaction that the museum – instead of being an exponent of 'Polish Kitsch' – had finally become the executor of such lofty endeavour as an exhibition of the region's pure German character.⁹ The collection of monumental sculptures by Waclaw Szymanowski known as *The Procession to the Wawel* was among the works of art destroyed of the

⁷ What is more, 'the Order of 17th April 1940, which was published in the "Ostdeutscher Beobachter" under the aegis of Gauleiter Greiser, required the removal of all Polish inscriptions by 15th May, 1940'. (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* 1949: 84). It should be mentioned, that a similar approach towards Russian culture was later manifest while the invasion on Soviet Union, as was stated on 20 November 1945 during Nuremberg trials: 'The Germans destroyed 427 museums, among them the wealthy museums of Leningrad, Smolensk, Stalingrad, Novgorod, Poltava, and others. [...] They broke up the estate of the poet Pushkin in Mikhailovskoye, desecrated his grave, and destroyed the neighboring villages and the Svyatogor monastery.' (*Trial of the Major War Criminals* 1947: 66, 67). Orthography of Polish names as well as punctuation was corrected in fragments quoted above and below.

⁸ The first commandant of Fort VII camp was Herbert Lange, who was member of Einsatzgruppe VI in September 1939, later organized mass killings of patients of mental asylums in occupied Poland, in December 1941 he was appointed as the first commandant of the Chełmno on Ner River extermination camp, a post he held until 1942. The second commandant of the Fort VII camp was SS-Oberführer Erich Neumann.

⁹ (*Warschauer Zeitung* 1940: 4): 'Posen, 24. Januar. In einer schlichten Feierstunde wurde in Unwesenheit des Reichsstatthalters Gauleiter Greiser, und führende Vertreter aus Partei und Wehrmacht, des Staatlichen und kulturellen Lebens das alte, 1894 gegründete Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Posen nach seiner Reinigung von polnischem Kitsch und polnischer Verfälschung der Öffentlichkeit übergeben. Ebenso wie auf anderen Gebieten hat auch in diesem Landesmuseum die polnische Kulturleistung der letzten 20 Jahre einzig und allein darin bestanden, dass man hochtrabend seinen Namen in "Grosspolnisches Museum" änderte und alle Beweise für die den geschichtlich deutschen Charakter des Warthe-Landes aus ihm verschwinden liess. "Heute ist", wie Museumsdirektor Dr. Kühle in seiner Eröffnungsansprache erklärte, "das Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum wieder seiner ursprünglichen Aufgabe zugeführt worden, nämlich in seinen volkstündlichen, künstlerischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Sammlungen und Ausstellungen den germanisch-deutschen Charakter von Land und Leuten des Warthe-Gaues zu zeigen".

museum. Characteristically, every possible effort was made to demolish all the existent copies of this sculptor's most famous work, the Chopin monument in Warsaw's Łazienki Park, of which plaster replicas and a wooden copy donated by the artist were also destroyed at the Poznań museum.¹⁰

In the General Government Nazi 'cultural' policy was in many respects similar to that of territories incorporated to the Reich. Monuments linked with Polish art and literature were demolished. Chopin's statue in Łazienki Park (which was 'Nur für Deutsche' – closed to Poles during the war) was exploded on 31 May 1940, reduced to smaller parts and transported by rail to a German foundry.

Regulations concerning education were designed to ensure that a new elite could not be formed. Schooling was restricted to primary schools and secondary schools that trained professionals in various specialties recognized as useful by the authorities (e.g. carpenter, dressmaker). This was outlined in the 'Measures Against Polish Culture and Education' section of Joseph Bühler's trial:

Education had been completely reorganized. It was controlled by a special department of the Governor-General's office in Cracow and by corresponding sections created under the district-governors. The officials of the school administration must have been Germans, although the educational councils could appoint Poles as school supervisors. Only trade and professional schools had been re-established for Poles. This was in line with the general policy of preparing Polish youth for physical work and to develop technical skill in compliance with the general plan to use the Polish population mainly as a source of manpower. Polish curriculum had been substantially restricted" (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* 1949: 29).

All universities and higher schools of art were closed. The Polish response to this policy was clandestine courses. These were organized either in schools, where pupils were taught a Polish program instead of through textbooks approved by the Germans or in private apartments. Often two kinds of teachers were employed; those who were official (specialists in tailoring for example), to prepare for the frequent German inspections, and those who taught history, Polish literature and other subjects. On the university level clandestine

¹⁰ However, one of the employees of the Museum managed to hide a copy of the statue's head in the cellar. As a result of this Nazi undertaking it was extremely difficult to reconstruct the statue after the war. It was finally reconstructed and unveiled in May 1958.

courses in various specialties were given in private apartments. These educational actions were brutally repressed. Professors and directors of schools were arrested by the Gestapo, and after cruel interrogations they were executed or sent to concentration camps. The clandestine universities' students were most often subjected to similar persecutions. At the *Städtliche Musikschule* opened in the Warsaw Conservatory building, although officially only orchestra musicians were sanctioned, teachers also gave illegal courses in composition and conducting. Its director was a German musician, Albert Hösl, but the vice-director was the eminent Polish pedagogue and composer Kazimierz Sikorski. At the school, witnesses only noted one intervention of the Gestapo and a single student arrest.

On 29 October 1939 at a conference in Łódź, in which Reich Minister Dr. Seyss-Inquart, Minister of Propaganda Dr. Goebbels and others took part, Hans Frank stated:

Poles should be left only with such possibilities of education, which will demonstrate to them the hopelessness of their national position. That is why they are entitled to watch solely films of low quality or such films, which would present to the eyes the magnitude and power of the German Reich.¹¹

Four days earlier (on 26 October), he assumed his function of General Governor, chose Cracow for the capital of his reign and Royal Wawel Castle – renamed now 'Krakauer Burg' – for his headquarters¹², where music was supposed to maintain important propagandistic roles.

¹¹ 'Herr Generalgouverneur führte aus [...] Der Wawel in Krakau werde nur mehr die Bezeichnung Krakauer Burg tragen. [...] Einleitend führte Herr Generalgouverneur aus: Den Polen dürfen nur solche Bildungsmöglichkeiten zur Verfügung gestellt werden, die ihnen die Aussichtslosigkeit ihres völkischen Schicksals zeigten. Es könnten daher höchstens schlechte Filme oder solche, die die Grösse und Stärke des Deutschen Reiches vor Augen führen, in Frage kommen. Es werde nowendig sein, dass grosse Lautsprecheranlagen einen gewissen Nachrichtendienst für die Polen vermitteln. Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels sprach sich grundsätzlich in Übereinstimmung mit den Asumführungen des Herrn Generalgouverneurs gegen die Einrichtung eines polnische Theater-, Kino- und Kabarettbetriebes aus. es würden in den grösseren Städten und Märkten stationare Lautsprecheranlagen aufgestellt werden, die zu bestimmten Zeiten Nachrichten über den Stand der lage und Befehlsparolen für die Polen geben'. See: 'Tagebuch des Herrn Generalgouverneurs für die besetzten polnische Gebiete', in Piotrowski (1963: 278).

¹² On 29 October 1939 'Herr Generalgouverneur führte aus [...] Der Wawel in Krakau werde nur mehr die Bezeichnung Krakauer Burg tragen'. See: 'Tagebuch des Herrn Generalgouverneurs für die besetzten polnische Gebiete', in Piotrowski (1963: 278).

This was a typical way of dealing with historic buildings – they were appropriated and transformed into the symbols of the new state and new German order. In 1940, Hans Frank, opening the *Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit* (Institute for German Work in the East) on the premises of the closed Jagellonian University, stated in his opening speech that ‘the establishment of the Institute means the resumption of the historical mission that Germanism is to fulfill in this place’ and the ‘restitution of all that which the Poles took away from the German spirit and German influence in this territory.’ (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* 1949: 29).

A German ‘stark pulsierendes Kulturleben’ (‘strongly pulsating cultural life’)¹³, needless to say, was one of the greatest ambitions of the Nazi authorities in occupied Poland, and music was a vital part of it. In autumn 1940, at the solemnly celebrations of the first anniversary of the General Government proclamation, Hans Frank established a symphony orchestra in Cracow, as well as the Philharmonic of the General Government and the *Theater der Stadt Warschau* (Theatre of the City of Warsaw in the building of closed Teatr Polski). This cultural institution was intended primarily for Germans, with Polish musicians playing in the orchestra and German conductors. Later, however, it was also directed to the Polish audience, primarily with operetta repertoire and gradually symphonic concerts were introduced. Frank himself explained the motivation behind the later decisions on 18 March 1942, during a meeting of the district and chief officers of the General Government NSDAP held at the Kings’ Hall of the Wawel Castle:

We are still cold-bloodedly continuing the fight to attain our goals. Gentlemen, you see how the state organs work, you see that we do not refrain from anything and dozens of people are put up against a wall. It is necessary, just because the healthy mind shows that we cannot spare the blood of foreign nations while the best German blood is sacrificed. [...] That is why if any Polish leading forces appear, they should be relentlessly destroyed, and with ruthless energy.

This should not be publicized; it should happen tacitly. And if we afford the luxury of allowing the Poles for types of philharmonics, which we display to foreign journalists, it doesn’t matter at all. People play music according to our wishes, and when they are no longer useful to us, we shall dissolve the institute.¹⁴

¹³ Title of an article in *Warschauer Zeitung* (1941: 4).

¹⁴ ‘Arbeitstagung der Distriktsstandortführer und Amtsleiter des Arbeitsbereiches Generalgouvernement der NSDAP im Königssaal der Burg zu Krakau’, quoted after Piotrowski. It

Efficiently organized looting of art works (e.g. precious collections of prints, manuscripts and paintings) was regulated by decrees issued by Frank at the turn of 1939, by which 'the entire movable and immovable property of the 'former Polish State' within the Government-General, together with all accessories, and including all claims, shares, rights and other interests, was sequestered'. Yet there another act concerning the confiscation of private property. As described in Bühler's trial documentation:

While in the analogous decree, issued in the incorporated territories, the chief reason for confiscations and sequestrations was the 'strengthening of Germanism', the decree issued by Frank stated that confiscation or sequestration could be ordered in connection with the carrying out of tasks 'serving the public interest'. For instance, private property could have been seized because it was 'financially unremunerative' or 'anti-social.' [...] By this decree, the so-called abandoned property, i.e., of people who left the country owing to the circumstances of war or had been deported, and of Jews, was also seized.¹⁵

Some forms of musical life – that in cafés – were permitted in the General Government by November 1939. Zygmunt Latoszewski, a conductor from Poznań, primarily concerned with opera, conducted a small orchestra at the 'Gastronomia' café in Warsaw. Other permissible modes of music making were defined in detail in a document entitled *Kulturpolitische Richtlinien (Cultural-Political Guidelines)* of 1940, a circular prepared by the GG Propaganda Office:

3. Music. Polish musical presentations are to be permitted, only if they serve as entertainment. Those which offer some form of higher-quality aesthetic experience are forbidden. Within the Polish music: marches, national songs, as well as all classical pieces

should be added that most important goals of the General Governor were effectuated at this time: 'The persecution of the Jews was immediately begun in the General Government. The area originally contained from 2,500,000 to 3,500,000 Jews. They were forced into ghettos, subjected to discriminatory laws, deprived of the food necessary to avoid starvation, and finally systematically and brutally exterminated. On 16th December, 1941, Frank told the Cabinet of the Governor-General: 'We must annihilate the Jews wherever we find them and wherever it is possible, in order to maintain there the structure of Reich as a whole. By 25th January 1944, Frank estimated that there were only 100,000 Jews left'. (*Law Reports of Trials and War Criminals* 1949: 35).

¹⁵ See Bühler's trial in (*Law Reports of Trials of War Criminals* 1949: 29–30). Chopin's family portraits of 1829 painted by Ambroży Mieroszewski (1929) are one of many examples of lost paintings. Their reproduction preserved to this day only thanks to Leopold Binental, who published them in his books in the 1930. As his origin was Jewish, his collection was looted while he was still in Warsaw. Thanks to Paderewski he received a Swiss visa, but he was arrested in France and murdered in Auschwitz in 1944. Information on L. Binental was provided to me by Hanna Wróblewska-Strauss, to whom I extend my thanks.

are banned. The music programmes of the cafés are to be submitted for [to the censor] approval.

4. Theatre. [...] Performances of serious plays and operas are forbidden to Poles. [...]

5. Small art [in other words: variety shows, revues]. All performances representing Polish national traditions [*Volkstum*] are forbidden. (Pospieszalski 1952).

To ban Chopin's music, Schumannian 'canons buried in flowers', in occupied Poland seemed an obvious *démarche* from the perspective of Goebbels's propaganda, as it broadly banned all artistic manifestations recognized as a part of Polish cultural identity. As it was illegal to perform Chopin from the outset of the occupation, his music was played at clandestine concerts in private apartments.

On 30 January 1941 a Polish clandestine *Information Bulletin* (1941: 3) commented that

the city is divested almost completely of intellectual entertainment. In place of [...] symphonic concerts, we have concerts in cafés, where it is not allowed to play Chopin, Paderewski or Moniuszko. Absolute uncertainty, as far as the fundamental needs of a human being are concerned: liberty and life. Every now and then haphazard roundups occur. Planned arrests, of individual people or en masse, continue, behind them the specter of Auschwitz looms more or less distinctly.

In the first stage of Warsaw ghetto's operation, in 1941, its reality was most succinctly described by Emmanuel Ringelblum, who wrote that 'all cultural life is in ruins'. He also added:

After the establishment of the ghetto, the authorities allowed internal cultural activity without restrictions. The commissar of Jewish district, attorney Auerswald did not care much what Jews were doing in the ghetto, he cared about one thing only: Jews should die of hunger [...] The regulations of German Propaganda Office forbidding performance of Aryan composers are not observed in the ghetto, 'freedom' reigns here. They play, what they want, unconcerned about censorship, which allows only a limited number of musical compositions.¹⁶

Later, however, this ban functioned as a pretext to disband the orchestra.

It seems useful to place the above-mentioned regulations in context of the Reich's cultural politics with respect to Germans. In November 1939, Joseph Goebbels banned performances of compositions from 'enemy countries' in

¹⁶ See (Ringelblum 1948). English translation by the author of the article.

German concert halls. Beginning in June 1940 Paderewski's compositions were counted among the 'undesirable music' ('unerwünschte Musik') and forbidden in Nazi Germany with the following statement:

Undesirable music. On the basis of the order for the protection of musical cultural property of 29 March 1939, the Reich music inspection authority officially pronounced the following musical works as unwanted and harmful. Publication [*Inverlangnahme*], which consists in the sale and performance of these works in the German Reich territories, is forbidden.¹⁷

Surprisingly, Chopin's works were exempt from this order, and were indeed often performed in Nazi Germany.¹⁸ How was the inconsistency between the ban to perform 'music of enemy countries' and the permission to perform Chopin reconciled?

The Nazi propaganda in Germany appropriated Chopin and strived to Germanize him through any means, just as it also attempted to accomplish the same goal with respect to Mozart, who was, next to Beethoven, Bruckner and others, hailed as the truly German master. How could this be proven? Similar methods of appropriation were used.¹⁹ In accordance with the military campaign and new regulations introduced in Poland, the ideological

¹⁷ *Die Musik* (1940 No. 9: 322–3) presents this somewhat strange list: 'Unerwünschte Musik: Auf Grund der Anordnung zum Schutze musikalischen Kulturgutes dem 29. März 1939 hat die Reichs-Musikprüfstelle folgende musikalische Werke für unerwünscht und schädlich ekrklärt. Die Inverlangnahme, der Vertrieb und die Aufführung dieser Werke ist im deutschen Reichsgebiet verboten: Träumerei nach Schumann, bearb. D. Kreuder. Dann lachelst du von Frank Filip; Testdichter Franz Filip, Es Scharcht der Onel Iwa von Karl Loubé; Eillism Händel, Weiss, Mac Gimsey, Two left feet von K. Gordon, Frankie and Johny, Conga dans la nuit von Grenet; Flüterpropaganda von S. Schieder, Sämtliche Werke von Ignatz Paderewski.'

¹⁸ During the 1938–39 concert season in Berlin over half of Chopin's works were performed (93). In the season 1940–41 – 117 of his works were played 331 times. In the season 1941–42 125 of Chopin's compositions were performed 476 times, among them the Ballade in A flat (11). In comparison, only 56 of Beethoven's piano works were played a total of 182 times (among them 29 Sonatas 141 times). One can clearly observe that the tendency to perform Chopin in Berlin was constantly growing between 1938–1942. These statistics are drawn from subsequent *Die Musik* concert season previews (1940 No. 4: 59; 1941 No. 12: 423, 392).

¹⁹ Cf. Meyer (1975: 660). 'It is interesting that racial determinism was emphasized repeatedly in apparent denial of notions of individual heroism, a problem which did arise in the application of racial nor to native musicians [...] Other difficulties arose: Beethoven's physical characteristics and ancestry suggested racial mixing, in spite of the fact that his music was said to have demonstrated the essence of Nordic heroism in music [...] Walther Rauschenberger attempted to resolve the conflict by granting that Nordic souls could reside in dark Germans. Analyses of this sort were applied to all the great masters: Bach embodied German ideals [...]. Chopin, the Pole, was largely Germanized and celebrated'.

attacks on Polish culture – including its music – were enforced. Blatant evidence lies in the texts published in *Die Musik*, which became the ‘Organ der Hauptstelle Musik bei Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP. Amtliche Mitteilungsblatt der Musikreferats im Kulturrat der Reichstudentenführung Mitteilungsblatt der Berliner Konzertgemeinde’. Its editor-in-chief was the Reichshauptstellenleiter, Dr. phil. habil. Herbert Gerigk, who co-authored the infamous *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* (*Lexicon of Jews in Music* 1940). The basic historical narrative developed in its pages was put in place to prove that all valuable qualities of Polish music history were either of German origin – for example, through the educational lineage traceable to major composers at German music schools – or purely German. In September 1939 Gerigk’s article hailing the ‘liberation of Danzig’ preceded Kurt Hennemeyer’s article ‘Vom deutschen Geist in der polnischen Musik’ (‘On the German Spirit in Polish Music’), which concludes with a typical totalitarian manipulation:

Die Einsichtideen des polnischen Volkes – auch sie werden in Polen wieder zu Worte kommen können – haben immer in realem Sinn diese Grösse des deutschen Volkes, die unbegrenzte macht des deutschen Geistes in seinem Einfluss auf die kulturelle Entwicklung Polens erkannt und gewürdigt. Und wenn der sterbende Frederic Chopins als sein musikalischen Vermächtnis den Wunsch an seine Freunde richtete: ‘Als Andenken an mich spielt Mozart!’, dann entrichtete dieser stolze und zugleich edle Pole noch in seiner Todesstunde einen letzten Gruss und Dank an jenes nicht minder stolze und gleichermassen edle Volk der Deutschen, dem er und mit ihm das ganze Polen auf allen Gebieten seines völkischen Lebens den Aufstieg verdankten (Hennemeyer 1939: 286–297).²⁰

Other articles in this vein followed in subsequent issues, arguing that Chopin was German based upon his education through his ‘German’ teacher Józef Elsner (e.g. Herrmann (1940: 47).

With the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, despite the intensification of the unremitting terror²¹, a certain shift in Nazi cultural politics can be

²⁰ [The intuitive ideas of the Polish Volk – these will be able to be articulated there again as well – have always truly recognized and valued the greatness of the German Volk, the limitless power of the German spirit upon the development of Poland.]

²¹ The order of 2 October 1943 concerning the “combating of attempts against the German work of

observed in the General Gouvernment. Changes in the permissible repertoire followed, or sometimes anticipated, changes on the fronts and the configurations of the Third Reich's allies and enemies. Music was a particularly sensitive domain in which the changes were evident, as it was conceived as a tool for the manipulation of the public opinion. In fact, Nazi 'cultural politics' was nothing more (and nothing less, to be sure) than a propaganda tool, this is first and foremost evident also in music's administrative categorization: musicians and music were placed under the authority of the Propaganda Office. Already in 1941 the performance of some Polish music was permitted in Cracow. Aggressive anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet propaganda in the official German press for Poles in Polish was mirrored through the marketing of the German benevolence toward Polish culture. In 1942 the ban to play Chopin was not only lifted, but Nazi authorities encouraged collaborationists and exerted pressure on other Polish musicians to perform this previously forbidden music. Characteristically, this repertoire was not played at non-collaborationist cafés.

One of the greatest paradoxes of the Nazi politics and the most striking example of propagandistic manipulation, however, was the Chopin exhibition, organized in Cracow in October 1943 by the very same General Governor Hans Frank, who had earlier introduced the multitude of regulations against the Polish intelligentsia and against all categorized as Jews, whether they were composers, instrumentalists, singers or musicologists. The rationale behind these actions was identical to that invoked in Nazi Germany: an attempt to fit Chopin into the Nazified view of culture. This narrative was unmasked by the underground *Cultural Revue* of November 1943:

Chopin exhibition in Cracow – 'the monument of German magnanimity': By the end of October Germans organized an exhibition of objects related to Chopin in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. The exhibit displayed the remains of Polish collections in Warsaw and Cracow.

Of course materials well known in Polish discourse and frequently reproduced are labeled 'unknown and unpublished' works of art, of which the discovery – as always in German propaganda – falls only to the pioneering Germans.

On occasion of this event the occupation's reptilian press widely exalted German

reconstruction' permitted all: executions, tortures, plunder, as it was punished only by death or deportation to concentration camps'. (*Law Reports of Trials and War Criminals* 1949: 28).

generosity, unskillfully disclosing what went on behind the scenes. Here it is: 'Reliable sources' leaked that Chopin qualified as a Volksdeutsch, based upon his father's lineage as traced to the German-Alsation family Schopping.

The keystone of German reasoning is the assertion, 'that national defence of Chopin's music ought not distract, because under its all ornaments, behind all decorative and constructive elements, lies the 'kernel of German music.'

Indeed, it is fascinating to observe the same sentences in the official German- and Polish-language press of the General Government. This also sheds light on the methods of conceiving and organizing the steady and simultaneous flow of propaganda related to such events in all relevant languages. An article in the 'Warschauer Zeitung' on 28 October 1943, entitled 'Weitdenkende Kulturplanung im Osten. Die Chopinsammlung in Krakau von Generalgouverneur Dr. Frank der Öffentlichkeit übergeben. Ein Denkmal deutscher Grosszügigkeit' reads as follows:

Seine Persönlichkeit gewinnt für uns noch einen besonderen Reiz... wenn wir kürzlich aus berufenem Munde gehört haben, dass seine Herkunft väterlicherseits möglicherweise mit der deutsch-elsässischen Familie Schopping in Zusammenhang steht. [...] Die nationale Seite der Chopinischen Musik, die von allen Musikern und Musikwissenschaftlern betont wird, darf nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass hinter allen Ornamenten, hinter den dekorativen, kolorierenden und konstruktiven Elementen ein Kern deutscher Musik steckt, der im letzten Grunde auf Chopins deutsche Musikerziehung zurückgeht.²²

By Germanizing Chopin on racial grounds, defining his descent as 'almost German', and, on the other hand, by locating the true essence of his music in pure Germaness, the Nazi ideologues could satisfy the critical categories of blood and race.

Another interesting example of the use of Chopin symbolically was the history of Chopin's heart during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. It was kept in the church of the Holy Cross, where severe fighting took place. A German soldier, a priest named Schultze, suggested that Polish priests remove the

²² As a figure he has gained significant allure, as we have recently heard from a credible source, that his paternal heritage has possible links to the German-Alsation family of Schopping. The national aspects of Chopin's music, which are brought to the fore by all musicians and musicologists, ought not to distract from the fact that behind all of the ornaments, behind all of the decorative, coloring, and structural elements, there is a quintessence of Germany music, that can ultimately traced to Chopin's German musical training.

heart from Warsaw, and thus saved it. This was propagandistically exploited by the SS General Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach, who officially handed over the heart to the archbishop Antoni Szlagowski on 9 September 1944; the whole ceremony was filmed.

A different realm of Polish musical tradition that considered as valuable from an aesthetical and correspondingly also a racial point of view, was the Gorale culture from the Podhale region. In autumn 1939 two Gorals – Henryk Szatkowski and Waclaw Krzeptowski cultivated the idea of German descent of *Goralenvolk*. With the encouragement of Nazi authorities they created a *Goralenverein* in the place of the Gorals Association²³. The Nazis were fascinated by the folklore and nature of the region. Images of Gorals were omnipresent in the official Polish and German press, their art was presented at exhibitions and their music was performed. At the same time, in November 1939, the Gestapo established their seat ('Der Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des S. D. im Distrikt Krakau. Grenzpolizeikommissariat') at the 'Palace' villa in Zakopane, on Tatra Strasse (which was renamed by the Germans from Chałubińskiego Street). This became one of the worst Gestapo interrogation prisons where several thousands Poles were cruelly tortured and executed, while others were sent to Auschwitz. The propagandistic and administrative efforts aimed at the appropriation of Gorale culture were ultimately unsuccessful.²⁴

Another paradox of this period's politics is that while the Chopin monument in Warsaw was destroyed in May 1940, one of the official banknotes (denomination of 10 zlotys') of the GG in 1940 represented precisely this Chopin monument. In contrast, the banknote of highest denomination (500 zlotys) bore the image of a Goral in his traditional dress.²⁵

In conclusion, it should be stressed that discussion of the above-mentioned repertory's 'Polishness' was intentionally absent. Nazi argumentation sup-

²³ A similar attempt was the idea of *Kaschobenvolk* towards Kashubians. Despite the Nazi authorities' actions, this was unsuccessful and only 2–3% of Kashubians accepted the *Kaschobenvolk* List. After 1941 they were forced to accept the *Volkslist* and were forcefully taken into the German army.

²⁴ The *Goralenverein* was fought against by the Polish underground army and Krzeptowski was executed by the AK [Armia Krajowa, Home Army] in January 1945.

²⁵ I would like to extend my thanks to Professor Andrzej Olszewski, who brought this fact to my attention.

pressed the same cultural heritage on the basis of its relation to Polish national tradition, but actively promoted it, whenever the music could be efficiently used as one of many Nazi propaganda tools. The history of Nazi 'musical reception' demonstrates its totalitarian abuses and the rationale that served Nazi ideology to account for that which they considered aesthetically valuable, so that this music could be considered acceptable from a racial perspective, and, therefore, could be exploited for the greater glory of the Third Reich.

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